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LETTER  
FROM  
THE HON. JAMES ALFRED PEARCE,  
UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MARYLAND, ON  
THE POLITICS OF THE DAY.

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LETTER  
FROM  
THE HON. THOMAS G. PRATT,  
UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MARYLAND,  
TO THE WHIGS OF THAT STATE.

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SPEECH  
OF THE  
HON. ISAAC D. JONES,

Delivered in response to the call of a Democratic Procession at Princess Anne, Somerset county, Md.,  
on the evening of Tuesday, July 15, 1856.

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SPEECH  
OF THE  
HON. JOHN W. CRISFIELD,

Delivered at Princess Anne, Somerset county, Md., on Tuesday evening, July 15, 1856, responding to  
the call of a Democratic Procession.

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WASHINGTON CITY, D. C.  
1856.

## LETTER OF HON. JAMES A. PEARCE.

WASHINGTON, JULY 31, 1850.

MY DEAR SIR: You ask what part I mean to take in the coming Presidential election, and what I think should be done by old Whigs who have never been attached to any other party, and who do not desire to enter into new political connexions.

I am well aware of the embarrassments to such persons which attend a choice among the candidates for the Presidency now before the country. In my own case this embarrassment is sensibly felt. My inclinations point one way, a sense of the duty arising from the present dangerous condition of domestic politics leads me another way.

My past relations, political and personal, with Mr. Fillmore, the confidence I have always reposed in his integrity and ability, the wisdom of his Administration, and the conviction I entertain that he is a just national man and free from sectional prejudice, would induce me to prefer him to his competitors. Neither do I object to the sentiment of American nationality, properly limited and restrained. Indeed I think that our present system has made American citizenship too cheap. But I did not approve the mysterious system under which the American party, of which he is now the representative, was organized; the oaths administered to members on initiation, and the discipline of the order, by which secrecy and obedience was secured. How far all this has been dispensed with I do not know. The original plan of their organization I could not but condemn, as I do the adoption of any principle which founds a rule of political exclusion upon a diversity of religious faith. However modified in these respects their plan may now be, it is not necessary for me to inquire. The Northern wing of the party came into it, as I think, with purposes very different from those entertained by the rest. They adopted it as a cloak to schemes which all of us in Maryland condemn and detest. The necessary affiliations of that wing of the party were with the anti-slavery men; and accordingly we find the mask now thrown off by the most of them, and see the development of their plans in such a measure as the personal liberty bill of Massachusetts, which nullifies a law of Congress, violates the constitutional guarantee for the recovery of fugitive slaves, and creates the fiercest and most dangerous discord between the North and the South. Their members of Congress have for the most part been consolidated with the pernicious party misnamed Republican, and many of their delegates to their Presidential Convention have deserted to that motley alliance, whose triumph would be the

saddest calamity that has ever befallen our Union. The comparatively small portion of the American party which remained after this transfer to the anti-slavery men, and which has nominally Mr. Fillmore, is without power to elect him even with the assistance of Southern Whigs and National Northern Whigs. These, however, great their personal respect for and confidence in Mr. Fillmore, are under no party obligation now to give him their support, seeing that he has become a member and accepted the nomination of a party which repudiates the Whigs, and while they would be willing in a contest with their old opponents to stand by all their political opinions to the last, they find ample reason in the present condition of parties, in the political anarchy which prevails, and in the fear of a sectional and anti-slavery triumph leading to ulterior consequences of the worst sort, to consider whether it is not their duty to sacrifice all personal feeling and party prejudice for the sake of the Union, and to sustain the nominations of the Democrats as the only means of defeating the schemes of the mad agitators who rule the Republican party.

The contest it seems to me, lies between Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Fremont. Mr. Fillmore's friends indeed claim a great reaction in his favor, but I have taken much pains to ascertain what his strength is in the free states, and so far have not been able to satisfy myself that he can carry a single one of them. His wise and patriotic conduct while President, which recommended him so strongly to the Whigs of the South, is regarded by the majority at the North as a fatal objection to him. It is not moderation and conciliation they desire; they think one of their leaders said, that the time for compromise has passed. They want, in the President, an instrument to punish the South for what they fancy or pretend to be the aggression of the "slave power" upon the North. Mr. Fillmore is too national for this purpose, and must indeed be credulous or sanguine to the extreme who supposes that the politicians who have misguided and inflamed the Northern majority will abandon their designs, and renounce the spoils for which they hunger and thirst, at the moment when, for the first time, they are confident of the success of the one and the enjoyment of the other. Mr. Fillmore's strength lies in the Whig States of the South. If the Southern States should give him their vote, he would fail in the election without such assistance from the free States as it would be vain to look for. The choice, then, is between Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Fremont, and what Maryland Whig believing as I do can hesitate? I am not so unjust as to charge all the Northern men who join in the support of Mr. Fillmore with the same views.

Amos Briggs  
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ment with being abolitionists. There are men among them whom I hold in much respect, while deploring the error of judgment into which they have fallen; but the most active and influential of their leaders are men who, of the spotless patriot to the country he had loved and served so well.

That is worse, from deliberate calculation, have determined to build up a sectional party, wreck of this sectional organization was less than it is of its peril to the Union, once so justly valued, but now estimated far less at the North than at the South. Mr. Greeley is at this mo-

ment more potential with his party than any other of its members. He has the benefit of Mr. Giddings, co-operation. Governor Chase, Mr. Seward, and Mr. Wilson are active and influential leaders. Their presses teem with the vilest abuse of Southern men and Southern institutions, with the grossest perversions of the truth, wickedly made to inflame the Northern mind. Their orators denounce us equally, and we do not hesitate to say that they intend to inspire not only to restore Kansas to the operation of the Missouri restriction, but to repeal the fugitive slave law, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, to interdict the interstate slave trade, so as to prevent the owner from migrating with his domestics from one slave State to another, to prevent forever hereafter the admission of any new State which moderates domestic servitude, and to hem in and confine slavery within its present limits; thus continually increasing the political power of their section, until we shall be too weak to resist their future efforts to impair the value of our real property, and, finally to destroy it.—We do not indeed find all these objects laid down in the platform of their party; and there are men associated with them whose designs by no means extend so far, and who, if they knew the probable consequences of their success, would recoil from the evil associations into which they have fallen. But, then, more moderate men are not the master spirits in this league of agitation, and will be powerless to stop the mischievous measures which I think certain to follow the success of the combinations which they are now aiding. The tone of the press in their interest, the speeches of many members of Congress and of the amateur orators of the party, all clearly evince a determination to unite the people of the free States, if possible, in cease and relentless hostility to those of the South. It is in the strife of sections in which they hope to succeed; and in what would their success result? Not in forming a more perfect Union, not in establishing justice or insuring domestic tranquility, all of which are among the declared objects of that Constitution which Washington and the other Fathers of the Republic gave to us; but in the jealousies, discord,

and hatred inseparable from party "characterized by geographical discriminations." It was against this that the Father of his Country warned us in his farewell address—the last legacy of the spotless patriot to the country he had loved and served so well.

Some years ago (in 1830,) when the danger of this sectional organization was less than it is now, Mr. Clay gave us his advice in the following words:

"Abolitionism should no longer be regarded as an imaginary danger. The Abolitionists, let me suppose, succeed in their present aim of uniting the inhabitants of the free States as one man against the inhabitants of the slave States. Union on the one side will begot union on the other, and this process of reciprocal consolidation will be attended with all the violent prejudices, embittered passions, and implacable animosities which ever degraded or deformed human nature. Virtual dissolution of the Union will have taken place, whilst the forms of its existence remain. \* \* \* One section will stand in menacing and hostile array against the other. The collision of opinion will soon be followed by the clash of arms. I will not attempt to describe scenes which now happily lie concealed from our view. Abolitionists themselves would shrink back in dismay and horror at the contemplation of desolated fields, conflagrated cities, murdered inhabitants, and the overthrow of the fairest fabric of human government that ever rose to animate the hopes of civilized man."

It will be said perhaps that this is mere declamation; that Mr. Clay's fervid spirit gave too warm a coloring to the picture; but we need only remark the passionate violence which characterizes men who have lately yielded to this sectional phrensy to satisfy ourselves what is the temper natural to such an organization. At the Convention in Philadelphia, held by those who nominated Mr. Fremont, a conspicuous and distinguished gentleman heretofore considered moderate and conservative, made a speech, in which, amidst cheers and cries of "good," he spoke as follows:

"They (meaning those who appointed the members of the Convention,) ask us to give them a nomination, which, when put fairly before the people, will unite public sentiment, and, through the ballot-box, will restrain and repel this pro-slavery extension and this aggression of the slaveocracy. What else are they doing? They tell you they are willing to abide by the ballot box and willing to make that the last appeal. If we fail there, what then? We will drive it back sword in hand, and as help me God, I'm with them."

It is true that the author of these remarks has since publicly avowed that he alone is responsible for this rhapsody. But it cannot be doubted that the feeling which prompted him was the same which animated the preacher who proposed to supply the brethren in Kansas with bread and powder too, and which has stimulated other preachers and their congregations to subscribe Sharpe's rifles as the most efficacious instrument

in the adjustment of the controversies in that Territory, which all good men deplore, however they may differ as to the causes of the unhappy anarchy which prevails there. For myself I acknowledge my duty to redress, so far as I can, all the real grievances complained of in that region; and I have supposed that the bill recently passed by the Senate was calculated to remedy them, because it proposes to enact that no law shall be made or have force or effect in said Territory which shall require a test oath, or oath to support any act of Congress or other legislative act, as a qualification for any civil office or public trust, or for any employment or profession, or to serve as a juror or vote at an election, or which shall impose any tax upon or condition to the exercise of the right of suffrage by any qualified voter, or which shall restrain or prohibit the free discussion of any law or subject of legislation in the said Territory, or the free expression of opinion thereon by the people of said Territory; and secures, as far as law can secure, the operation of the public will in the formation of a State government. That this bill was sincerely meant to effect its avowed purpose I am quite confident; and I believe that there are conservative men at the North, who do not yield to prejudice or passion, who will credit this assertion. Unfortunately they are not the majority. At all events, in the most of the free States the masses of the Republican party are led by men who do not mean to be satisfied with any legislation which is not to result in placing the Government under their control; by men who say that the framers of the Constitution "made a compromise that cannot be mentioned without shame;" who say of Mr. Fillmore, in allusion to his signing the fugitive slave bill, "better far had he never been born—better for his memory, and for the name of his children, had he never been President;" who declare that bill to be "one of the immortal catalogues of national crimes," and that he who signed it thereby "sunk into the depths of infamy;" who pronounce the fugitive slave to be "one of the heroes of the age," and the master who demands him a "vile slave-hunter," whom all men should look upon with contempt, indignation, and abhorrence; men who do not regard the Constitution, and the laws made in pursuance of it, as the supreme law of the land; who disregard the decisions of that high tribunal whose office it is to decide the constitutional questions; who claim to set up their individual opinions against the official ones of the judicial authorities, and refer their obligations, not to the instrument which they have sworn to support, which is at once the bond and the principle of our Union, but to some "higher law," whose foundations are to be found in their own fanatical imaginations.

Some of the leaders go further still, and consider slavery as a wrong so transcendent that it must not only be limited to its present bounds but must be abolished altogether. We see the effects of this in the increasing restiveness of a part of our population, in the often repeated escapes of our servants from the mildest form of servitude ever known, and in the ready acceptance of the recommendation not to hesitate at theft, robbery, and murder, if need be, to accomplish their flight. From this condition of things we can expect no relief if the anti-slavery party succeed in the election of Mr. Fremont. To defeat their nomination seems to me to be our first duty and greatest interest, and therefore I am ready to adopt that candidate who appears most likely to accomplish this purpose. I add a showing the extreme designs of the anti-slavery zealots the following remarks, reported as having been made lately by Mr. Wendell Phillips, Speaking of the Republican party, he says:

"It is the first sectional party ever organized in this country. It does not know its own face. It calls itself national; but it is not national; it is sectional. It is the North arrayed against the South. Henry Wilson said to me, 'We must get every Northern State in order to elect Fremont!' It was a distinct recognition of the fact that the Republican party is a party of the North pledged against the South. Theodore Parker wanted to know once where disunion would begin? I will tell him—just where that party decides; that is, a Northern party against the Southern. I do not call it an anti-slavery party; it has not risen to that yet. It first distinct recognition was Banks' election."

I have no idea that this is to be considered as showing the general purpose of the Republican party, but I am well satisfied that such opinions are growing in the North, under the constant teachings of such apostles as Mr. Phillips, and this speech shows the tendency of present events.

I have been politically opposed to the Democratic party for so many years that I cannot without reluctance contemplate the necessity of supporting their nominee. Yet it must be admitted that he is a man of abilities and large public experience; that he has been just to the South, though not assuming to be a Northern man with Southern principles; that his inclinations are generally conservative; that he numbers among his prominent supporters many gentlemen of talents and patriotic character entitled not only to the confidence of their party, but to influence with the country at large; and that many of the old issues between the Whigs and the Democrats are obsolete. Two objections to him are much relied on by his opponents in the South. It has been alleged that he countenanced and promulgated the charge of bargain and corruption against Mr. Clay in the election by the House of Representatives in 1825. I should denounce him for this as readily and as

severely as any one if I thought this allegation just. But I remember that this charge against Mr. Clay was made without any direct testimony until 1827, when the Carter Beverly letter led to Mr. Buchanan's being named as a witness; and that he then promptly denied the statement which he was relied on to prove, and, at the risk of losing Gen. Jackson's favor and that of his party, exonerated Mr. Clay. From the letter which he then published I extract the following passage:

"I owe it to my own character to make another observation. Had I ever known or even suspected that Gen. Jackson believed I had been sent to him by Mr. Clay or his friends, I should have immediately corrected his erroneous impression, and thus prevented the necessity for this most unpleasant explanation. When the editor of the United States Telegraph, on the 12th of October last, asked me by letter for information upon this subject, I promptly informed him by the returning mail, on the 19th of that month, that I had no authority from Mr. Clay or his friends to propose any terms to General Jackson in relation to their votes, nor did I ever make any such propositions; and that I trusted I would be as incapable of becoming a messenger upon such an occasion as it was known Gen. Jackson would be to receive such a message. I have deemed it necessary to make this statement in order to remove any misconception which may have been occasioned by the publication in the Telegraph of my letter to the editor, dated the 11th ultimo."

Again, in 1828, in a speech delivered in the House of Representatives, Mr. Buchanan declared that he had no knowledge of the bargain and corruption charged on Mr. Clay. These disavowals may be considered as merely cold justice to the great and incorruptible Whig leader, but surely they contradict most flatly the charge of being his "traducer and defamer." If further proof were needed it may be found in the following remarks recently made in Kentucky by Mr. Jas. B. Clay, his son:

"Mr. Clay then proceeded to urge upon his old Whig friends, the companions and constituents of his father, to rally around that banner which he had spent his life in upholding—the banner of the Union. He was ready to follow the Whig standard as the Douglass followed the heart of Bruce—as long as it prevailed. But that flag was no longer to be seen on the battle-field. It might yet be unfurled. After death there was the resurrection. But at present there was no Whig organization, and the only party of the Union was that of which Buchanan and Breckinridge were the candidates.

"Mr. Clay referred to the attempt to implicate Mr. Buchanan in the charge of bargain and corruption. On that subject he proposed to take the testimony of his own father, and he read from Mr. Clay's letter to show that Mr. Buchanan had conducted himself in that affair as a man of truth and honor. He should believe what his father said before others. Besides the evidence he had read, there was other testimony bearing on the same point. In feeling and eloquent terms he referred to the heavy weight of that charge against his father, and how gallantly

and bravely he had borne it. Thank God, it died before his father! and now he was proud to say that there lived not the man who would whisper it. But Mr. Buchanan was free from all connexion with the matter.

"Mr. Clay concluded with an eloquent appeal to his fellow citizens, especially Old-Line Whigs, to give their cordial support to the Union ticket—to Buchanan and Breckinridge."

The next great object is that Mr. Buchanan would be unsafe in his management of foreign affairs. I readily admit that I do not like the Ostend paper, and I do not approve certain resolutions adopted by the Cincinnati Convention, notwithstanding the unanimous opposition of the Virginia and Maryland delegates, and I believe of others; and if he should adopt the aggressive policy supposed to be prescribed by that paper and the resolutions, I should be as ready and as earnest in my opposition to him as any one. But he is a man of known caution, which, with his intelligent comprehension of the true interests of the United States, and the responsibility of the Presidential office, which he could not but recognise, would forbid his urging the country upon a course of aggression inconsistent with the spirit of our Government, faithless to treaties, violative of the rights of other nations, and destructive of our own peace, honor, and concord. I know that many of the leading men of his own party are sound and reliable in this respect; and I believe that there conservative influence would harmonize with his own disposition. I am the more assured of this because I observe that in his letter of acceptance there is no recognition of the resolutions, (which were not considered by the Convention as forming a part of the platform,) but, on the contrary, a prudent and conservative tone, which met with the approbation of even the judicious and experienced Editors of the National Intelligencer—themselves *par excellence*, the foes of all filibustering. In an additional article noticing Mr. Buchanan's letter of acceptance, they said:

"We may say, however, that Mr. Buchanan's official letter of acceptance, while not expressly repudiating the extreme and exceptionable doctrines foisted into the Democratic confessions of faith by the Cincinnati Convention, does not, by its spirit and tenor, incline us to hope that he means if elected, so to construe those doctrines as to disarm them of their mischievous significance and evil tendency. Indeed we can give no other meaning than this to Mr. Buchanan's declaration when he says that he accepts the 'resolutions constituting the platform of the principles erected by the Convention' in the same spirit as that which prompts his acceptance of the nomination tendered to him by his party, namely, a desire so to discharge the duties of the high office to which he aspires as 'to allay domestic strife, preserve peace and friendship with foreign nations,' and promote the best interests of the Republic."

At present the prospects is that the conserva-

tive Whig vote will be so divided as to defeat a popular election and throw the decision upon the House of Representatives—at all times an event to be deprecated, but at this period peculiarly pernicious and dangerous, and threatening the rudest shock to our system. What the result will be I will not venture to predict, but I will say that I do not see the least probability of Mr. Fillmore's election by the House of Representatives. I think, therefore, it would be the part of wisdom and patriotism in the Whigs (by which I mean those who have affiliated with no other party) to throw their votes for Mr. Buchanan as the strongest of the candidates opposed to the Northern sectional party. This they may do without renouncing their old political faith, without stain of honor or suspicion of apostasy. The motive being the integrity of the Union, the defeat of a party which is founded on geographical discriminations and bound together by dangerous sectional schemes, the act will be vindicated by disinterested patriotism.

For my part, I shall not abjure my political creed, and, having in view but the one object which I have stated, I shall hold myself ready to take any other course which may be necessary to effect that object. Should the hopes of Mr. Fillmore's friends be realized; should it appear that he is more likely to carry the great body of the patriotic, but quiet people, who generally come to the rescue in times of public peril; that he is, in short, the best able to subdue this storm of sectional passion and prejudice, I shall rejoice to see him again filling the chair of State. But I will not affect an unalloyed gratification; for I cannot forget that he is the candidate of a party which has proscribed Whigs who were not members of "the order"—of a party which boasted that it had risen on the ruins of the Whig and Democratic parties, and which has pronounced both of them corrupt.

Whatever the result, I shall be content if the dangerous excitement which threatens our peace and union can be calmed down, so that the extreme opinions which have their roots in prejudice and passion may wither away. Then a liberal forbearance and kindly toleration of different sentiments may resume their influence. If this cannot be done, if the South and the North are to regard one another as enemies, then sooner or later our "house, divided against itself," must fall. Then we shall have to say, with Pantheus—

*Venit summa dies et ineluctabile tempus  
Dardanie.*

But ours will be a sadder fate than that of Priam's empire; for it was not the Dardanian people by whom the inevitable doom of Troy was fixed. A foreign foe beat down her lofty

walls and destroyed the high renown of her race; but we shall fall by our own suicidal hands; we will kindle the flames which shall destroy the edifice of our constitutional Union; ourselves will break the bonds of harmonious interest and fraternal concord which have held us together as one people. May Heaven inspire us with wisdom to avert so sad a catastrophe!

Very truly, my dear sir, your friend,  
JAS. ALFRED PEARCE.

To the Hon. J. R. FRANKLIN,  
Snow Hill, Maryland.

P. S. I add a letter of Mr. Clay to Rev. Walter Cotton, which shows his opinion in 1843 of the effect of the abolition movements of that day:

ASHLAND Sept. 2, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR: Allow me to suggest a subject for one of your tracts, which, treated in your popular and condensed way, I think would be attended with great and good effect. I mean abolition.

It is manifest that the ultras of that party are extremely mischievous, and are hurrying on the country to fearful consequences. They are not to be conciliated by the Whigs. Engrossed with a singularity, they care for nothing else. They would see the administration of the Government precipitate the nation into absolute ruin before they would lend a helping hand to arrest its career. They treat worst and denounce most those who treat them best, who so far agree with them as to admit slavery to be an evil. Witness their conduct towards Mr. Briggs and Mr. Adams in Massachusetts, and towards me.

I will give you an outline of the manner in which I would handle it: Show the origin of slavery; trace its introduction to the British Government; Show how it is disposed of by the Federal Constitution; that it is left exclusively to the States, except in regard to fugitives, direct taxes, and representation. Show that the agitation of the question in the free States will first destroy all harmony, and finally lead to disunion, perpetual war, the extinction of the African race, ultimate military despotism.

But the great aim and object of your tract should be to arouse the laboring classes in the free States against abolition. Depict the consequences to them of immediate abolition. The slaves, being free, would be dispersed throughout the Union; they would enter into competition with the free laborer—with the American, the Irish, the German—reduce his wages, be confounded with him, and affect his moral and social standing. And, as the ultras are both for abolition and amalgamation, show that their object is to unite in marriage the laboring white man and the laboring black woman; to reduce the white laboring man to the despised and degraded condition of the black man.

I would show their opposition to colonization; show its humane, religious, and patriotic aims; that they are to separate those whom God has separated. Why do the abolitionists oppose colonization? To keep and amalgamate together the two races, in violation of God's will, and to keep the blacks here, that they may interfere with, degrade, and debase the laboring whites. Show that the British Government is co-operating with the abolitionists for the purpose of dissolving the Union, &c. You can

make a powerful article that will be felt in every extremity of the Union. I am perfectly satisfied it will do great good. Let me hear from you on this subject.

HENRY CLAY.

### LETTER OF HON. THOS. G. PRATT.

In response to the communications received from many of my brother Whigs, I deem it my privilege, in this manner, to counsel with all in relation to the course which patriotism and duty would seem to indicate as proper in the present political crisis.

No lover of his country whose judgment is unbiassed by party zeal and uncontrolled by Northern or Southern fanaticism can fail to see the pending danger to the Union.

The first duty of every man who loves his country and her institutions is to provide for their safety. The life of the nation is in danger. It must be saved; then, and not till then, will it be permissible to us to discuss our differences of opinion upon minor subjects.

I say that the life of the Union is in danger, because, for the first time in our history, a party has been formed composed exclusively of citizens of one section of the country, bound together by the single bond of an alliance for offensive warfare against the other section. That the success of such a party would imperil the Union has been recently demonstrated by an address of Mr. Fillmore, and will, it is submitted, be apparent to all who will bestow a moment's consideration upon the existing posture of political affairs.

The value of the slave property at the South is not less than two thousand million of dollars, a sum equal to the value of all the other property in the United States, as shown by the last census. This property is not only recognised, but so far guaranteed by the Constitution as to impose upon the Federal Government the duty of restoring to his owner the slave who may escape into another State or Territory of the United States. For years past this constitutional obligation has been not only repudiated by some of the non-slaveholding States, but political parties have been organized in all with the avowed object of liberating the slaves, and thus not only depriving the South of this vast amount of property, but subjecting it to all the horrors which would necessarily result from such a consummation. In addition to all this, whilst the abolitionists on the one hand openly avow their opposition to the Constitution and their desire to destroy a Government which imposes obligations repudiated by them, on the other hand many Southern men, goaded by the incessant attacks of their Northern fellow-citizens upon their feelings, their property, and their constitutional rights, express the belief that the interests of

the South would be more effectually protected by a separation of the slave from the non-slaveholding States, and therefore rather promote than interpose to prevent a result so calamitous. We have hitherto disregarded the danger which such a state of feeling and such a course of action would indicate as most imminent, because we have assumed that such sentiments and action could only be attributed to a small minority of our Northern brethren. But now, when this sectional exasperation has been made available for the inauguration of a party calling itself Republican, under whose banner, for the first time in the history of the country, this sectional opposition to Southern rights and interests have united in nominating, with alleged probabilities of success, a purely sectional ticket for the Presidency and Vice Presidency of the United States, we can no longer shut our eyes to the reality of the threatening danger; we cannot but feel that the success of such a party would be the death knell of the Union. The utopian purposes of this sectional party are but too manifest. Many of its supporters avow their object and purpose to be disunion, and have even gone so far in the madness of their fanaticism as to desecrate the flag of our country by obliterating from its constellation the fifteen stars which represent the slaveholding States, and displaying as *their party banner* that flag with but sixteen of its stars remaining, to represent the sixteen non-slaveholding States. It is manifest that those who disavow the object are not ignorant of the inevitable result.

The Whigs of Maryland, whom I have the honor to address, need no proof to convince *them* that calamitous consequences would flow from the success of this sectional party. They each and all *know* that the election of Mr. Fremont, and the administration of the Government by him upon the principles of *his* party, would necessarily occasion a dissolution of the Federal Union, to which *they* have been taught to look as the source of national strength and of individual prosperity and happiness.

I have known the Whigs of my State too long, I estimate their patriotism too highly, I have associated with them too intimately, to suppose it necessary for a moment to offer an argument to *them* in behalf of their country. They appreciate, as fully as I could depict, the horrors of disunion; they will see the loss of national strength, the internal dissensions, the fatal check to civilization and freedom, the contempt of the world which would be the consequences of such a calamity. The Whigs of Maryland who have followed the lead of such patriots as Clay and Webster, "will never keep step to any other music than that of the Union."

It therefore only remains to inquire what

course shall be taken to rebuke sectional fanaticism and preserve our country from the dangers of its success.

You are aware that this Republican party, which we all agree must be put down at all hazards, is opposed by two other party organizations: the American, headed by Messrs. Fillmore and Donelson, and the Democratic, led on by Messrs. Buchanan and Breckinridge. You will recollect that Mr. Fillmore, prior to his recent visit to Europe, abandoned the Whig party and became a member of the former of these organizations, which boasted that it had risen upon the downfall of the Whig party, and which proclaimed that the corruptions of the Whig and Democratic parties constituted the necessity of its existence. You know that he and Andrew Jackson Donelson have been nominated by this party (not by the Whig party) for the Presidency and Vice Presidency, and you will admit that the principles of proscription because of religious opinions, and other repudiated tenets of this new party, are in direct antagonism with the principles of that good old Whig party to which we are still attached, and which has been abandoned by Mr. Fillmore. It is not my object in referring to these facts to deny to the American party, since the secession of its abolition adherents, a fair claim to nationality; nor to deny the patriotism and virtue of Mr. Fillmore, nor his eminent qualification for the office of Chief Magistrate. But I do deduce from them the necessary conclusion that, as Whigs, we owe no party allegiance to Messrs. Fillmore and Donelson, members and nominees of the American party. I deduce the conclusion that, as Whigs, we are not only at liberty, but that as patriots we are bound, by every obligation to our country and posterity, to throw aside, on the one hand, the feelings of hostility which Mr. Fillmore's desertion of our party would be calculated to engender, and, on the other hand, to forget for the time our former battles with the Democratic party, and to ask ourselves but one question—*which of the two national organizations offers the best guarantee of success in crushing out of existence this new and monstrous sectional party, which threatens the life of your country?* I do not propose to examine the relative claims of the two national parties or their nominees to our support. It is not, in my judgment, permissible in the present crisis to interpose our individual differences of opinion upon minor questions. It is sufficient for us to know that the election of either national nominee would secure the Union; and the only question permitted by patriotism is, whether our support of the one or the other would more certainly prove successful?

But before I proceed to this inquiry, having shown that no political allegiance to Messrs. Fill-

more and Donelson will interpose to prevent the fair exercise of our judgment on that side, I propose briefly to inquire whether there is anything to prevent our support of the Democratic nominees, if after investigation we shall believe that our vote in their favor would more certainly secure the safety of our country. It cannot have escaped your observation that the political principles upon which the Whig and Democratic parties have battled for thirty years, with varied success, have been for the most part settled by the fiat of the people, and that such as have not been so definitely disposed of have been either abandoned by the one or adopted by the other of those parties; so that now the representatives of the people in the halls of State and Federal legislation are indiscriminately advocating and opposing the same principles and measures. Not only is there no principle of political antagonism which should prevent Whigs and Democrats acting together for the benefit of their common country, but it is confidently submitted that upon the only vital question, that which now agitates and endangers the country, the two parties fully accord. The Whig and Democratic platforms upon the slavery question in eighteen hundred and fifty-two were identical; and, there being no Whig nominees before the people, it *might* be suggested that consistency would rather require than oppose the support of the Democratic nominees by Whigs. The controlling inquiry to the patriot now recurs, *which of the two national organizations can by his vote be made most certainly successful?*

Every Maryland Whig will be bound by every tie of duty to vote as his judgement shall decide this question.

It may not be immaterial to observe that neither of the national nominees will obtain throughout this broad land any votes which will not be cast by national conservative citizens, and it is to be regretted that in this crisis that vote should be divided between *two national* candidates whilst the entire anti-national vote will be concentrated upon the sectional nominee. To judge of the relative strength of the two national organizations it is unnecessary to trace minutely the origin of the American party. It is sufficient to bring to your recollection that it was originally composed, North and South, of the dissatisfied members of the two parties, and that in the North its original members were chiefly those who opposed the conservative principle upon the slavery question avowed in the platforms of the two old parties. It must not escape your recollection that upon the nomination of Messrs. Fillmore and Donelson a large majority of the Northern delegates seceded from the Convention declared their intention not to support those nominees, and subsequently united in the nomi-



tion of Mr. Fremont. This separation of the sectional from the national portion of the American party has occurred in every Northern State in the Confederacy. I deduce from these facts the nationality of the supporters of Messrs Fillmore and Donelson, and I submit the inquiry for the honest decision of those to whom this paper is addressed, *what non-slaveholding State can this national branch of the American party, thus shorn of the larger portion of its original strength, promise its nominees?* Let the Whigs of Maryland ponder upon the view of this subject I have endeavored to present to their consideration, and no one of them will say that a single non-slaveholding State is certain for Fillmore and Donelson. Time, I think, will develop the fact that Messrs Fillmore and Donelson will be left without an electoral ticket in most of the free States, and it is at any rate the deliberate conviction of my judgment that they will not carry a single non-slaveholding State in the Union. If I am right, or even approximate the truth in the view I have taken, it will necessarily follow that any conservative vote for the American nominee North will be equivalent to a vote for Mr. Fremont, as it will be a vote taken from Mr. Buchanan, his only real competitor.

It is clear, then, that to the South alone can the friends of Messrs Fillmore and Donelson look for the probable chance of an electoral vote; and it is to the States of Maryland, Tennessee, Kentucky and Missouri that they profess to look with the greatest hope of success. It is manifest that if this hope were realized, it might indeed prevent the election of Messrs Buchanan and Breckinridge by the people, but it would only throw the election of President into the present House of Representatives, composed as that House now is. Does not the election of this same House, after a contest of two months, of a Black Republican Speaker, admonish us of the danger of such an experiment? Who can doubt that our political fabric would be shaken to its very foundations by this election of President being thrown upon the present House of Representatives? On the other hand, is it not certain beyond the contingency of a doubt, that the vote of the States indicated for Mr. Buchanan, when added to that of the other Southern States, would secure his election and the consequent safety of the Union? It is obvious that in this condition of the canvas the only serious contest is that between Fremont and Buchanan; that the only possible result that the most sanguine of the friends of Fillmore and Donelson can hope to obtain is to carry the contest into the House of Representatives. Who can conceive any thing more fatal to the peace of the country, more insane in political action, than such a course of

conduct leading to such a result? Suppose Mr. Fillmore to reach the House of Representatives with the votes of four or five States, (his utmost possible strength,) no man can seriously contend that he would be elected President, and assuredly few will be found bold enough to assert that, under such circumstances, he ought to be. The only effect, then, of giving the electoral vote of any portion of the South to Mr. Fillmore would be to transfer the contest between Mr. Buchanan and Fremont from the hustings to the House of Representatives; and the danger to our country, now sufficiently menacing, would, in that event, be appalling indeed. Who can contemplate the occurrence of such a contingency without feeling that he would be a traitor to his country if he failed to exert every possible effort to avert so awful a calamity?

I deem it, then, to be *my* duty, as well as that of all who believe with me that the election of Fremont would be the death-knell of the Union, to unite in the support of Messrs Buchanan and Breckinridge; and I shall sustain their election to the best of my ability. Whilst I concede that there are certain principles hitherto professed by the party which nominated them that cannot receive our support, yet on the great issues of the constitutional rights of the South the platform on which they stand meets my cordial approval, and is in accordance with that of the party which I now address, and to whose kind favor I owe the honor of holding the seat I now occupy, and which I shall cease to hold after the 4th of March next by the fiat of that party to which Mr. Fillmore has attached himself, and which is now dominant in the Legislature of my native State.

Let Maryland Whigs remember that the political battle now being fought is one of the deepest interest to them; that the maintenance of the constitutional rights of the South is the issue tendered to the American people by the Democratic party, and (as the Whigs have no candidate) by that party alone; that upon this issue the Republican party have staked the Union and in such a battle, upon such an issue, they must be true to those who are doing battle in our behalf. It would be indeed sad if, in such a contest, the conservative strength of the country should not be united: it would be as strange as sad if, in such a contest, Southern men should not be found battling shoulder to shoulder for the maintenance of their own constitutional rights.

In thus accomplishing what I believe to be a duty, I shall be inexpressibly gratified if I shall find myself sustained by the approval of my fellow Whigs, who have refused to abandon either the party or the principles in support of which we shall remain at perfect liberty to re-organize as soon as our common efforts shall have

succeeded in averting the perils that now threaten our beloved country.

THOMAS G. PRATT.

## SPEECH OF HON JNO. W. CRISFIELD.

Mr. CRISFIELD, after acknowledging the compliment their presence and call implied, which, he said, was as unexpected as it was unexpected, and expressing his thanks, proceeded, in substance to say: That they all knew his antecedents; that it was well known he had always been a Whig, and under all circumstances, as well in the darkest hours of defeat as in the hour of triumph, had stood under the banner of that party, proud to do battle in its support. He had done so, because the leading principles of that party and the doctrines it proclaimed were just and patriotic, and had the unqualified approval of his heart and judgment. These principles, in his opinion, so just, so conservative, so consistent with the Constitution, had been so long cherished, and so ardently loved, that he could no more shake them off or change them than he could change his opinions of religion or of morals. And he felt sure that no one expected him to do it. He reavowed them, and declared that, as they had been the rulers of his political conduct in the past, so they would be in the future, whenever, from the state of parties and the condition of the country, those principles should be in issue. But unfortunately that was not now; the Whig party was not a party to this fight; Whig principles are not in issue; and Whig candidates were not, and would not be in the field. New parties had been formed, new issues had been joined, and upon these all Southern men could stand side by side. The real contest now was between Southern rights and Northern fanaticism. In this state of circumstances, he felt it to be his solemn duty to lay aside ancient prejudices, and fraternize with that party now organized, and in the field, which, in his judgment, offers the best guarantee of its own success and of safety for our national and domestic institutions; and in the performance of this duty, after dispassionately examining the whole subject, he had come to the determination now for the first time, publicly announced, to give his support—his cordial and energetic support—to the nominees of the Cincinnati Convention.

Mr. C. said he would briefly assign some of the reasons which had brought him to this determination.

He could not support Mr. Fillmore. He was a supporter of his administration; he thought it one of the purest and best which had transpired in his time; and if it could be restored,

as he thought it was, he would prefer it over all others. He had, too, been an ardent admirer of Mr. Fillmore personally, and if he could regard him now as he formerly had, he would perhaps prefer him for the high office which he once filled, over all others. But he had changed. The painful conclusion had been forced upon him that Mr. Fillmore was not now what he had been. He had become a member of a secret political organization, dangerous in its tendency, destructive of the freedom of political opinion, and at war with the theory of man's capacity for self-government—an organization proscriptive in its character and intolerant of religious freedom, which enforced its jesuitical policy by oaths not authorized by law and demoralizing in their tendency. He is, as we are informed, "a member in good standing of Council No. 177," in western New York. If this be so as few will doubt, it is a sad truth. Its discovery crimsoned his cheek with shame. In allowing himself to be placed in this position, Mr. Fillmore has been unjust to himself, and reckless of his own fame. But this is not all; he has unwhipped himself; he has become a member of an organization which boasts of having arisen upon the ruins, and in spite of the opposition, of the Whig party, and proclaims, in its well considered confession of faith, that it is not responsible for the obnoxious errors and violations of pledges of that party. He consorts with Andrew Jackson Donelson, the defamer of his Administration and the reviler of the Whig party, a Democrat of the stamp most odious to Whigs; and he now demands of us, as Whigs, our support of this extraordinary and anomalous association. At this moment he is carrying the banner of those who conspired for the destruction of the Whig party. With these facts before him, he could not recognize Mr. Fillmore as a Whig; he had disrobed himself of that title; he is an alien from the fold, and had not a shadow of a claim, based on old party associations, to the support of the few who still remain constant to the ancient faith.

But if he were willing, in consideration of his services, to overlook these serious objections to Mr. Fillmore, he could not support him without also supporting Mr. Donelson. The two are indissolubly blended; and he would not vote for Mr. Donelson. He had not a single qualification to recommend him for the high place for which he is nominated; and to old Whigs, he is perhaps the most objectionable man who could be named. For his own part, he was not willing to vote for any man for Vice President whom he would be unwilling to trust as President. He had not forgotten the blasted fruits of the Whig triumph of 1840. Who would be willing to see Mr. Donelson President? No one.

he would venture to say; and yet, if the Fillmore ticket prevails, he may, and probably will, be. Twice have the Whigs carried the Presidential election, and on both occasions, scarcely had the shout of triumph ceased to reach before they were called upon to mourn the death of their President. What right have we to calculate upon exemption from a like calamity in the next Presidential term? What guarantee have we that Mr. Fillmore will not also be taken? and if he should be, who is not appalled at the idea of the duties of that high station devolving on Mr. Donelson? Who does not tremble at the thought of entrusting him with the whole power of this Government; of placing in his hands its army and its navy; of committing to his management its foreign policy; and of leaving to his charge the settlement of the perilous questions of domestic policy which at this moment are rudely agitating the Union of these States, and threatening dissolution? He could not vote for Mr. Donelson; and if any one should twit him for supporting Mr. Buchanan because he is a Democrat, Mr. C. would just remind him that Mr. Donelson, also, is a Democrat, with the stain of Know-nothingism and incapacity superadded.

But if he waived these considerations, there were other reasons, still more conclusive, which obliged him at this crisis to give his support to Mr. Buchanan. The contest in which we are engaged, unhappily, is a contest between the North and the South—between abolitionism and free-soilism on the one side, and the preservation of southern rights and the Union on the other. This was the real issue, and he might say the only issue now to be decided—and one of more overwhelming importance was never presented for decision to the American people. On the one side we find the Republicans, led on by Mr. Fremont, sustaining the ultra northern view. The objects of this party are unmistakable; they are humiliating to the South, and destructive of her constitutional rights and material interests. The Republicans deny to her her just share of political power; negative those constitutional guarantees which were intended for protection, and without which she would never have entered the Union. And is there no danger that they may triumph? Already have they obtained control of nearly every State legislature north of Mason and Dixon's line; they have a majority in the House of Representatives, which elects the President in case of the failure of the people to elect; and to preside over the deliberations of that body, they have elected Mr. Banks, who boldly avows, that sooner than abolition and free-soil measures should fail, he would "let the Union slide." The people of the Free States, burning with fanaticism, inflated by these suc-

cesses, and headless of constitutional restraints and of consequences, are madly rushing into the Republican ranks with a unanimity hitherto without example; and it may well be feared that even the united energies of all southern men and the conservatives of every section may be too feeble to resist the overwhelming power. The Union trembles under the blows of this sectional strife; God grant that the fearful catastrophe of its dissolution may be averted! The election of Fremont would be its death-knell. If his supporters are strong enough to elect him, they are also strong enough to consummate their designs of sectional aggrandizement and southern humiliation; and in spite of the Constitution, they will assume the power of Congress to legislate our Slavery in the Territories of the United States; they will exclude the South from its just rights in the national domain, abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, repeal the fugitive slave bill and refuse to admit new States into the Union unless they repudiate slavery. That these measures would follow the election of Fremont he had no doubt; and when they did, the Union would, and ought to be, dissolved. These measures, and each of them, negative important provisions of the Constitution inserted for the security of the South, and if persisted in are just grounds of separation.

Fellow-citizens, do you appreciate the dangers which encompass you? He feared we were on the verge of dissolution. Gloom and apprehension shroud the future; our very existence as a nation—as one united people—in all probability depends upon the result of this election. Our institutions are assailed in their most vulnerable part. The torch of the incendiary is blazing; the citadel of the Union is besieged; and this is no time for the garrison to be wasting the time and strength, which should be given to the common enemy, in the indulgence of old antipathies and vain disputes; but regardless of the past, and with patriotic devotion, sacrificing, on the altar of our common country our ancient prejudices and preferences, we should rally under the standard of that leader who gives the best assurance of his ability to preserve the common safety.

If we concede Mr. Fillmore's entire nationality, and that, if elected, his energies would be devoted in good faith to preserve the Union, and quell all sectional discord, what assurance have we that he can be elected? Does any one believe that he can be? He who thinks he can be is blind to the signs of the times. Mr. C. knew very well that in certain quarters studied efforts had been made to produce the impression that his election was certain, and it is quite possible that there are those whose vision does not reach beyond the narrow horizon of Somerset, or even of the State of Maryland, who may think so;

but the man who comprehends within his view the whole country, and the present state of parties, who has observed for the last half-year the varied and manifold indications of popular sentiment, and is familiar with the spirit of the American press, and can think there is the remotest probability of the election of Mr. Fillmore by the people, has become insensible to evidence. Where is he to get the votes? He is the nominee of the American party, which, if it was even a national party, has long since ceased to be so by the defection of its own members. A large portion of the members from the free States of the convention which nominated him at that time seceded, and went over to the Republicans; and from that time to this the work of secession has been going on, until now it may be truthfully affirmed that the American party, distinct from, and unconnected with the Republicans, has ceased to exist in those States. True, individual members remain firm; but, as a party, capable anywhere in those States, unless it be in the city of New York, of effecting anything, it does not exist.—Nor can he expect any important aid in those States from other parties. The Whig party there, for the most part, lost itself in Americanism, and as part of the American party has gone over to the Republicans. Except Choate and Winthrop, and probably Everett, of Massachusetts, he could not name a Whig of New England, of national reputation, who was not now a Republican. Even the most active and able supporters of Mr. Fillmore's administration have enlisted in the Republican ranks. Dayton, of New Jersey, is the Republican candidat for Vice President; Collamer, of Vermont, is the chosen advocate of Republicanism in the United States Senate, and Curwin, of Ohio, his Secretary of the Treasury, is stumping Indiana for Fremont; and the same may be said of many others of like stamp.

In the free States nearly every Whig of national reputation may now be found among the Republicans. The legislatures of those States are either Republican or Democratic—not Fillmore Americans; in the House of Representatives there are scarcely enough members from the free States who favor Mr. Fillmore's election to fill the cabinet appointments, even if they were of the right material; and if there is one member from those States in the Senate of the United States who favors his election, Mr. C could not name him. Of the anti-democratic press of those States the same may be said. Out of 91 anti-democratic journals from the free States which exchange with the New York *Herald*, 78, as we learn from that paper, are for Fremont, and 11 for Fillmore and 2 for Buchanan. Shut their eyes, as the friends of Mr. Fillmore may, the fact is nevertheless true that the whole North

and West are either Republican or Democratic; and no reasonable ground exists justifying the belief that he can get a single electoral vote in the free States, unless it be in California, of which he did not pretend to speak. These States will vote for Buchanan or Fremont, Mr. C. greatly feared a majority of them would go for the latter. In the South Mr. Fillmore may do better. His friends last year carried Delaware, Maryland and Kentucky; if these be accorded to him now, they will not elect him. Can he get any more? Few, if any, think he can; but suppose he gets Tennessee, North Carolina, and Louisiana—and his most sanguine friends claim no more in the South—still he is greatly in the minority. Then, he cannot be elected by the popular vote; and every vote thrown for him, with that view, is a vote thrown away. But votes for him may have a different and very mischievous effect. If he carries the States referred to, or even a considerable portion of them, no election probably will be effected by the people, and the election will be referred to the House of Representatives. Will that benefit him?

Certainly not. His strength in that House is the Fuller squad; which after a two months' struggle could not get a Speaker. But in a presidential election, when the vote is cast by States, it would have even less effective strength, for they are in the majority in three States only, (Delaware, Maryland, and Kentucky,) which would give him three votes only. Then it is equally certain that he cannot be elected by the House. If it goes to the House, Fremont will be elected, or there will be no election. The Republicans were strong enough to elect Banks Speaker; and is there any reasonable ground to doubt their ability to elect Fremont President. They have, it is feared, already fourteen States, and it requires but sixteen to elect. Starting with this immense odds in his favor, and with the patronage of the government at his disposal, in the event of success, his friends will have no difficulty in procuring the additional votes required. He considered, then, all votes given for Fillmore for the purpose of defeating the election by the people, and of throwing it into the House, as votes given to promote Fremont's election; and that those who, under existing circumstances, and with such an object, cast their votes, are unfriendly to the South, and responsible for all the consequences which may follow.

If the friends of Mr. Fillmore could reasonably calculate on his election, or if the contest was between him and Buchanan, he would have nothing to say. He should vote in silence according to his convictions of propriety, feeling assured that, whether the one or the other suc-

ceeded, the substantial interests of the country—above all, the safety of the Union—would be preserved. But the contest is not between them; and his being in the field, at least in the Southern States, can be productive of mischief only. While the Freesoil interests are all combined and combining, the South presents a divided front; defeat and humiliation are the certain consequences of these tactics, if persevered in. The real contest is between Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Fremont; one or the other of these must succeed; and, as between them, he held it to be the duty of every Union-loving man—of every man who cherished the honor of the South, and desired her to be preserved in the enjoyment of her constitutional rights and authority—to give the former a cheerful and unreserved support. For one, he intended to do it. The ground Mr. Buchanan occupied on this great question was the true, constitutional, and only safe ground; it corresponded with Mr. C.'s long-cherished and oft-repeated opinions; and he should be false to those opinions if he hesitated, at this time, in giving him and them his support. He thought that the duty of all Southern men especially. He regretted that many of those with whom he had long acted, his cherished and familiar friends, thought differently; he regretted not to see them around him to-night, and hear their familiar voices cheering him onward—the separation pained him. He conceded to them an equal degree of intelligence and patriotism which he claimed for himself; and could only regret that they would not think with him. He believed he was right, he knew he was sincere, and he should act up to his duty, painful though it be. Possibly he might be denounced; better men had been denounced, and he knew of no reason why he ought to expect exemption; but he should not hesitate or falter; he should act up to his principles, and according to his sense of duty, in the face of all denunciation. He was not afraid to do his duty. He would leave consequences to take care of themselves.

Mr. Crisfield, after having told an anecdote illustrative of his own position, again tendered his thanks to the audience, bid them good night, and retired.

#### SPEECH OF HON. ISAAC D. JONES.

Mr. Jones said he would no longer resist the calls of his fellow citizens. He had to this moment declined to speak on this occasion; had gone home with no intention to be here to night, and had returned to the village to gratify the wishes of the ladies of his family to enjoy the music of the band. He arrived in time to hear

the concluding portion of his friend Crisfield's speech, but hoped himself, to pass unobserved. Not that he had any reluctance to avow his opinions regarding the present crisis, for they were already well known in this community, but he desired not to participate, at this time, in the excitement of political discussion. He had all his life, been an attentive observer of the politics of the country. He had witnessed and participated in the strife of parties; had seen with deep concern, gloomy clouds threatening disaster and destruction to the country's fairest prospects, but under the guiding hand of a merciful Providence, they had passed harmlessly by. But never before had he looked upon the political condition of the country with so much solicitude and anxiety. Never before were such issues presented in a Presidential election for the People's decision. He had watched the progress of events with intense interest. He had pondered carefully the *pros* and *cons* on all sides of the absorbing questions of the day. He believed he had weighed them with impartial judgment, certainly with personal disinterestedness, and with entire candor. He belonged to none of the existing parties. He was but an humble fragment of what was once the glorious old Whig party. The practical questions heretofore in issue between the Whig and Democratic parties have been adjusted and passed into history. The Whig party has no longer an existence. Its vitality seems to have passed away with its great leaders, Clay and Webster. When, where, why, and by whom, it was "ruined," deserted, betrayed;—its name, its principles, its organization, abandoned—*who can tell?* These incidents of its history are hidden among the mysteries of secret, midnight, oath-bound Know-Nothing Councils.

A new party has arisen, sprung up as it were, in a night, without "a local habitation or a name"—meeting nowhere, composed of nobody, and knowing nothing. It was first discovered by the public, in the ballot-box, to the dismay of the Democracy, and the delight of the Whigs who were glad to see their ancient foe defeated, no matter by whom. It had its origin, it is said in the North; in the land of Millerism, Mesmerism, Mormonism, Spiritualism, Abolitionism. In June 1855, emboldened by its success, it emerged into public view, and organized as a political party, calling itself American. Its purposes and objects have since been somewhat understood. Its councils have exhibited a singular want of unanimity and harmony in their party action. In June 1855, they planted themselves upon their 12th Section as a National party, acquiescing in existing laws as a final settlement of the Slavery question. In February, 1856, the American National Council

abandoned the 12th Section. Southern members protest and secede. In a day or two the scene changes—a compromise is patched up in secret—Southern members and Northern members re-appear in American National Convention, and nominate Fillmore and Donelson. Northern members again protest, secede, and denounce Fillmore and Donelson.

But other startling developments had preceded these doings of February. It was boasted that this National American party had elected a large majority of members of the house of Representatives. Congress met in December, 1855, when it was found that these National Americans were rent into fragments; the small Southern band divided among themselves, while the great Northern American party, having a majority of the whole House, combined in a solid, uncompromising phalanx, upon a red-hot Abolitionist for Speaker. The Democrats united upon a North-Western National Democrat, and for some two months closely and firmly maintained their position with Spartan heroism. At length, patriotism prevailed over Southern Americans and National Democrats, and foregoing party preferences, they united in opposition to the factious Abolitionists who sought at all hazards, to place Banks in the Speaker's chair. Who does not know the result? Who does not remember the shame and confusion, and mortification, with which our Know-Nothing friends hung their heads when it was announced that Banks was Speaker?—Who does not remember the bitter curses upon Davis, of Maryland, and Cullen, of Delaware, for throwing away their votes, and indirectly aiding in the result? Having triumphed in the election of Speaker, and in breaking down the 12th Section at Philadelphia, it could scarcely be expected that the Northern Americans would desert their Republican allies, and trust to any hope of co-operation with Southern Americans, who had, in the election of Speaker, openly preferred alliance with the Democrats. The party who had elected Banks, Speaker, called itself Republican. It had, by an exclusively sectional vote, elected a most obnoxious Abolition Speaker. They now resolved to strike for the Presidency—and they have nominated Fremont as their candidate. The Anti-Fillmore Americans met and nominated Speaker Banks for President. He declined, and they have united with the Black Republicans upon Fremont. The Democrats have nominated Mr. Buchanan, a distinguished statesman, of large experience in public affairs, of unsullied personal character, and though a citizen of a free State, he has, all his life, amidst the storms of Abolitionism, stood with heroic firmness upon the guarantees of the Constitution, in defence of Southern rights.

With these well-known facts staring us in the face—with the Republican and American parties in the North rallying upon Fremont, with the avowed purpose of a relentless war upon Southern rights, what did we see and hear?—Mr. Jones said, accustomed as he was, to the perversions of partizans and newspapers, he was amazed at the hardihood of assertion in those who were denouncing the Democratic party as responsible for the sectional strife, and the slavery agitation, which now, more than ever, threatened the stability of our Union and Constitution. As a Whig, who in former days had been their frank and steadfast opponent, he would assert that impartial history will pronounce this imputation an unfounded slander upon the Democratic party. He exceedingly regretted to see that so eminent a statesman, and so excellent a man as Mr. Fillmore, should, in a moment of forgetfulness and excitement, have given countenance to this imputation in his speech at Albany. He then spoke of the responsibility of those who "re-opened the Slavery agitation." At what period, said Mr. Jones, since the formation of the N. E. Anti-Slavery Society, about 1831, has the question been closed, or has its agitation ceased? Mr. Fillmore's advocates say that the Compromise measures of 1850 restored peace and quiet to the country upon this question. Are they oblivious of facts so recent in the history of the country? Do they not know that it required all the combined influence, talents and energy of all the National Whigs and Democrats, in both Houses of Congress, to pass the Compromise measures? That Clay and Cass, Webster and Douglas, and other Whigs and Democrats, united to save the country in that terrible crisis. That Mr. Clay's bill for the admission of California, adjusting the boundary of Texas, and organizing the Territories of New Mexico and Utah, was defeated; and that, when separate bills for these objects had been passed, and the Fugitive Slave bill had passed, the powerful and talented opposition, so far from acquiescing in those measures, as a final settlement, openly appealed to the anti-slavery feelings of the North and West, and avowed their determination to "agitate" for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave law, and to exclude slavery from all the Territories of the Union. Was not the attempt to execute the Fugitive Slave law, everywhere in the North, resisted even unto blood, by anti-slavery mobs? If peace and quiet were restored, and those measures acquiesced in by the country, why was not Mr. Fillmore or Mr. Webster nominated for the Presidency in 1852? Such was the excitement against Mr. Fillmore for signing the Fugitive Slave bill, that all his own great talents and faithful efforts to serve his whole country, with

Mr. Clay's endorsement and influence to aid him, were unavailing in the Whig convention. Gen. Scott was nominated under the influence of the free soil, anti-slavery excitement among Northern Whigs. The conservative spirit of the convention was aroused, the Whig candidate was dis-trusted, and the Democratic party achieved an overwhelming triumph. This, so far from quieting the angry spirit of Anti-Slavery, but increased its rage. Who does not remember the terrible effects of an armed mob in the city of Boston to prevent the execution of the Fugitive Slave law upon the negro Burns, and the political revolutions that followed, sweeping the Democratic party from power in the northern States? It is true, the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill added fuel to the flame, but did not kindle it. It was used by the agitators in the North to increase the excitement, which had been constantly growing since the defeat of the Wilmot proviso, and the passage of the Fugitive Slave law.

But it is said the repeal of the Missouri Compromise line brought the present troubles on the country. Mr. Jones went on to show that, in 1850, when it was proposed to extend this line West, so as to make it the boundary of Utah, that Seward, Hale, and the Free soil party in Congress, denounced the line; would not, even by implication, admit that it had any binding effect; avowed that it should not stand, but that slavery should be forever excluded from all the Territories, South as well as North of that line. That when Congress came to organize Territorial governments for Kansas and Nebraska, the question was, whether the National Whigs and Democrats, who believed that there was no constitutional obligation to abide by that line, (which was but the application of the Wilmot Proviso to all the territory North of 36° 30') should stand quietly by and see Kansas settled exclusively by Free Soilers, and add another to the free States, to be followed by Nebraska as a free State, by which time the power to protect themselves and their rights under the constitution would forever have been taken away from the slave States; or whether, whilst they had the power, they should assert their constitutional rights to an equal share of the public domain, leaving the question of slavery, as a domestic institution, to be settled by the people of the Territory, when they came to form a State constitution. In adopting the latter alternative, they followed the example of the Congress of 1850, in the Utah and New Mexico Territorial bills, and erected the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, without the Wilmot Proviso. This, like the Fugitive Slave law, and the defeat of the Wilmot Proviso in 1850, has been made the occasion of increased rage and fury among the

Free Soilers, and afforded a convenient opportunity for Northern politicians, who thought they saw coming triumph for Free Soilism, to join its ranks. But can *Southern Whigs* and men in the North, claiming to be friends of the South, join in this Free Soil crusade against the Democratic party?

Mr. Jones then proceeded to express his opinions upon the Presidential contest:—that Fremont was the candidate of this Free Soil party in the non-slave holding States, and that to defeat him might require the united efforts of all National men. Whigs, Democrats and Americans. That from the distracted state of Mr. Fillmore's party in the Northern States, and the large secession from it to Fremont's support, it was questionable whether Mr. Fillmore could so divide the vote in any Northern State as to defeat the Free Soil electors in such State. That if Mr. Fillmore was supported in the North by a portion of the conservative National men, to that extent, he would divide the vote that ought to be united upon one candidate against the Abolitionists and Free Soilers. That Mr. Buchanan is supported by a party, which, in a convention of six hundred delegates from every State in the Union, unanimously planted themselves upon the Constitutional guarantees of Southern rights. They have risked their existence as a political party in defence of our property, our rights, the Constitution and the Union. That it was amazing to him, with this prospect before us, that Southern Whigs, or any Southern man, should hazard the loss of a slave State to Mr. Buchanan by voting for Mr. Fillmore. That this was no time to indulge personal preferences, or party animosity, or to revive the feuds of other days. That the question is one of self-preservation against all the probable horrors of disunion, anarchy, and civil war—to end, God knows where! That he had a high personal regard for Mr. Fillmore, and admitting, that in talents, statesmanship, and patriotism, and even upon the question of Southern rights, he may be all his most ardent admirers claim for him. Mr. Buchanan, is at least, his equal in these respects, and is sustained by a party which is in the majority in nearly all if not all the slave States. Shall Southern men, in such a crisis, seek to distract and defeat the only party in the country which, in his judgment, affords the slightest hope or prospect of defeat to this dangerous, sectional Free Soil party of the North?

But it was said Mr. Fillmore had denounced the Sectional Free Soil party in his speech at Albany, and had proclaimed that if it should elect its candidate to the Presidency, the South would not, and ought not to submit. Let no man be deluded by such a threat. If Fremont shall be elected President according to the forms

of the Constitution, either by obtaining the united vote of the free States in the Electoral Colleges, or by a majority of the States, in the House of Representatives, if there is no election by the people—he will be entitled to take the Presidential office; to grasp the sword of the army, and the flag of the navy; and to exercise all the great powers vested by law in that high office. Overt acts of armed resistance to his lawful authority, if unsuccessful would be treason. Successful resistance, would be revolution, disunion, and all the horrors of anarchy.

Mr. Jones then adverted to the theory of those Whigs and Americans who proposed to vote for Mr. Fillmore in the slave States, in the hope, that by giving him the vote of two or three slave States, the election may be carried into the House of Representatives, where, having four States in his favor, and holding thus the balance of power, they would compel the Democrats or Republicans, to take Fillmore, or have no election. Did gentlemen forget that the same House of Representatives that elected Banks Speaker, will have the election of President? Are they sure that Fremont, with fourteen States, may not find means to secure two more? Does any dream that the Free Soilers in Congress, will, in any event, vote for Mr. Fillmore, or for Mr. Buchanan? They will adhere to Mr. Fremont as they did to Banks—and Southern men may find, as they found in the election of Speaker, that the attempted union of Southern Americans and Democrats in Congress, may come *too late* to defeat the Free Soil party. Let them remember, that in a possible contingency, Speaker Banks, even before the Presidential election, may become President, commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and surrounded with an army of Free Soil office holders.

Mr. Jones said, if the election should go to the House of Representatives, the probability was, there would be no election by the House.

He considered it as certain as any future political event could be, that John C. Breckinridge would be elected Vice-President, and in case of no election by the House, before the fourth of March next, Breckinridge, by the Constitution, will become President. He was a noble son of Kentucky, a man of high order of intellect, a statesman of eminent ability, and though young, he would make a safe and able President. Mr. Jones said he would support Buchanan and Breckinridge upon the platform of their sentiments, as contained in their letters of acceptance, and upon the practical and real issues involved in this contest, which he conceived to be the defence of Southern rights against the purposes of the Free Soilers, and defence of the rights of conscience in religious belief, and of the Constitutional rights of our naturalized citizens against the purposes of the American party.

Proscription of any class of our American citizens, on account of their religious creed, or place of birth, is illegal and unjust, and at war with the avowed doctrines and policy of Maryland Whigs for all past time, and especially for the last sixteen years. He remained firm by the doctrines of the Whig Central Committee of 1840, re-affirmed by a convention of Whigs in Baltimore in April, 1856.

In this hour of trial, in her exposed condition as a frontier slave State, bounded by Mason and Dixon's line, Maryland, needs the united aid of all her citizens, Protestant, Roman Catholic and naturalized, to protect her property, her peace, and all that she holds most sacred and dear—the Constitution and the Union! Let her be warned by the past, *and trust nothing to the House of Representatives*. Let her citizens see to it, that by uniting at the ballot-box with her Southern sisters, and with the National Democrats and Whigs, and conservative men of the North and the West, they elect Buchanan and Breckinridge *by the voice of the people*.